

BACKGROUNDSECURITY INFORMATION

The Social-Democrat PETLURA, who had been a member of the dissolved (1918) RADA was also in charge of the military operation of the Directory - the Republican counter-government which drove the Monarchist Hetman SKORPADSKY from Kiev in November 1918. PETLURA was aided by Colonel Eugene KONOVALEC and Colonel Andrew MELNYK, who, in the twenties, became the leaders of the Ukrainian Nationalist organization, OUN.

Symeon PETLURA soon became head of the Directory and commander-in-chief of an army of about 50,000 men, which was successively led by Vasil TIUTIUNIK, Gen. Vladimir SALSKI and General OMELYANOVICH-PAVLENKO. Petlura's aim was to preserve the independence of the newly styled (Eastern) Ukrainian Republic against the Bolshevik government which, at that time, was fighting against the White armies. Petlura was hard pressed since he did not receive much support from the Western Allies, although he sent diplomatic missions to the peace conference in Paris. The territory he controlled from the seat of his government at Kameniec-Podolski dwindled away under the onrush of the Bolshevik army. He therefore threw in his lot with the government of the newly emerging Polish republic, whose leaders were also ideologically opposed to the Soviet regime. Thereby, however, arose a peculiar situation, as in the then Polish province of Galicia (Western Ukraine) there also existed a nationalist movement (Western Ukrainian Nationalists) for the independence of the Ukraine which was strongly anti-Polish and which was persecuted by the Polish government.

## PETLURIANS vs. WESTERN (GALICIAN) UKRAINIAN NATIONALISTS

Galicia was a province of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and had a large, nationally conscious Ukrainian minority in its Eastern regions (capital: Lwow). In fact, one of the first nationalist cultural societies, PROSVITA, was founded in Galicia in 1868. When the empire collapsed in November 1918, Eugene PETRUSHEVICH, backed by the independent Western Ukrainian Republic. After the establishment of Petlura's Eastern Ukrainian Republic, the union of the two governments was proclaimed (January 1919).

Petrushevich's government in Lwow included Isider HOLUBOVICH (prime minister), Ivan MAKUCH (Interior), Longin CEGIELSKI (Foreign Affairs) and General Victor KURMANOVICH (War). This government was represented by Vasil PANEYKO at the Paris peace conference; by Roman SMAL-STOCKY in Berlin; Stepan SMAL-STOCKY in Prague; by WASILKO in Vienna; by Alexandre KOLESSA in Rome; by Ossip NAZARUK in Canada; by P. KORMANSKI in Brazil; by Longin CEGIELSKI and Luka MYSHUHA in the USA.

Petrushevich's government had an army of about 30,000 men which was commanded by Gen. OMELYANOVICH-PAVLENKO (who later took over Petlura's forces). Col. Eugene KONOVALEC and Col. Andrew MELNYK, who assisted Petlura's operation against Skoropadsky, also belonged to this Western (Galician) Ukrainian army. Both anti-Soviet and anti-Polish, the Petrushevich government and its army were driven out by the Polish army in May 1919. The army drifted into the Russian Ukraine where it took part in the RED-White and Polish-Bolshevik wars, and finally dissolved, partly by joining the Reds and partly by being interned in Poland and Czechoslovakia. Petrushevich's government went to Vienna (1919) and then to Berlin (1923).

In spite of its close ties with Petlura, the Petrushevich group had been left out on a limb when Petlura, true to his concept of independence of the Eastern Ukraine only, formed an alliance with the Polish government. The resulting rift between the Petlurians and the Petrushevich (Western Ukraine) faction determined the relations of the two groups well into the middle '30s.

PETLURA-POLISH ALLIANCE: The LEVITSKY GOVERNMENT

Petlura's government in the Eastern Ukraine was at first presided over by OSTAPENKO who was succeeded in April 1919 by MARTOS. Six months later MAZEPA, a

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Social-Democrat, was appointed and ~~Security Information~~ <sup>Security</sup> with extraordinary powers. He was assisted by such Ukrainian Revolutionary Socialists as Mikita SHAPOVAL, Nikifor GRIGORIEW, and SEVRIUK. Andre Levitsky became Foreign Minister.

Through the MAZEPA government, Petlura established an alliance with the Polish state. In December 1919, Andre LEVITSKY renounced all claims of the Petlura government to the Western (Polish) Ukraine and was promised support by the Poles against Soviet Russia. Petlura, his government, and his army moved into Poland. In April 1920, shortly before the outbreak of the Polish-Bolshevik war, LEVITSKY signed the Petlura-Polish military alliance. Prof. Alexander SHULGIN was instrumental in bringing the alliance about. Petlura's troops participated in the Ukrainian campaign against Russia (1920), but were defeated together with the Polish army. At this juncture, the Ukrainian Revolutionary Socialists and Social-Democrats who felt their concept of independence for both the Eastern and the Western Ukraine betrayed, broke with Petlura. The Social-Democrats MAZEPA replaced ~~him~~ by Viecheslav PROKOPOVICH, and Petlura established his government in Warsaw. Andre Levitsky took PROKOPOVICH's post late in 1920, and moved up to Chief of State after Petlura had been assassinated in Paris (1926) by the Ukrainian Jew SCHWARZBARD who wanted to avenge the pogroms for which he held Petlura's army responsible. Petlura's government-in-exile was recognized only by Finland, Lithania, Estonia, and Poland.

Under Andre Levitsky served Viecheslav PROKOPOVICH (President of the Council); Prof Alexander SHULGIN (Foreign Affairs); General Vladimir SALSKI (War); Prof. Stepan SMAL-STOCKY (Propaganda), etc.

With Polish support, the Ukrainian government founded a Ukrainian (Scientific) Institute in Warsaw, maintained "diplomatic" missions abroad, and backed several (anti-soviet) information bureaus and publications, such as Trizoub (Trident), a Ukrainian language paper appearing in Paris; and the Bulletin of the Ukrainian Press Bureau in Paris, which appeared in French until 1940, and contained many contributions by LEVITSKY and SHULGIN.

#### PETLURIANS and PROMETHEUS

Prof. Alexander SHULGIN, and his son Rostislaw, also edited the French language review Promethee which appeared in Paris from 1927 until 1940. Promethee, published by the Georgian journalist, Georges GWAZAWA, was the mouthpiece of the PROMETHEUS organization in Poland, supported by the Polish army after the Polish-Bolshevik war, with its membership drawn mostly from PILSUDSKI partisans. The object of the association was a federation of Eastern Europe: Poland, the Ukraine, the Crimea, the Caucasus; basically, therefore, it was a weapon in the struggle against the Soviet Union. After PILSUDSKI's coup d'etat in 1926, PROMETHEUS became a secret organization under the control of the 2me Bureau of the Polish Army. Its aims did not change, but its activities were carried out clandestinely - it is reported to have developed an intelligence and propaganda network in the Soviet Union.

According to some reports the PROMETHEUS association was formed in Turkey by various Russian and Caucasian peoples, mostly from those countries which had enjoyed independence from 1917-1923, before Soviet incorporation. PROMETHEUS, it is said, was forced to leave Turkey after the conclusion of the Russo-Turkish treaty of 1921, and moved headquarters to Warsaw. The IId department of the Polish General Staff evinced an interest in a continuation of the political activities of the association and subsidized it until 1926 when it became extremely difficult to infiltrate into Soviet territory. S. ZAWADOWSKI, the present Polish representative of the ANDERS group in Beirut, asserts that Prometheus was engaged in extensive secret intelligence operations (1946).

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To the circle of PROMETHEUS members belonged Mehmed Emin Bey RESULDADE (leader of the nationalist Turkish movement in Russia and founder of the MUSAVAT arty), who was defeated in the Russian civil war of 1917-1920; Mir YAKUB, member of the independent government of Azerbaidjan before its incorporation into Soviet Russia (1920); and Cafer SAYDAHMET, one-time member of the National Government of the Crimea. Also connected with PROMETHEUS was Prof. SMAL-STOCKY, former director of the Ukrainian Institute in Warsaw.

Although more precise date on PROMETHEUS are lacking, the organization's connection with the Polish government and with the Ukrainian nationalists in Poland is well established.

During the present war, Prometheus disappeared, and the org was, under Polish impulsion, replaced by another movement - INTERMARIUM (Confederation) which has as its goal the liberation of the states bordering on the Baltic, Black, Adriatic and Aegean seas from Soviet control. The movement is supported by the Polish Army of General ANDERS. Its slogan is "Od Morya Do Morya" (From Sea to Sea). Ukrainian participation in the INTERMARIUM is indicated.

In April 1946, a PROMETHEUS LEAGUE OF THE ATLANTIC CHARTER was reported to have passed a series of anti-Soviet resolutions at a meeting in Munich. Since SMAL-STOCKY is reported as one of the leaders, it may be assumed that this association is a revival of the old PROMETHEUS LEAGUE, ~~which~~ camouflaged as a "democratic" organization. This theory is supported by the reported fact that many Poles and Georgians have joined the organization. Its relations to INTERMARIUM are obscure at present.

Cf:  
PROMETHEUS  
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Legal Government of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic

Early History. After the outbreak of the Russian Revolution the Ukrainian Parliament (the Central Rada or Council) in Kiev in early 1918 proclaimed the independence of the Ukrainian state as an Ukrainian Democratic Republic, with the distinguished Volodymyr Hrushevsky as head. This government was recognized by England and France through the sending of diplomatic representatives to Kiev, but it could not stop for continuing a war against the Germans. As a result, it was forced to conclude the peace of Brest-Litovsk, at which the independence of Ukraine was recognized de jure by Turkey, Bulgaria, Rumania, Georgia, and Austria-Hungary, and de facto by all neutral states.

The German march into the Ukraine to secure the wheat crop met with strong anti-German opposition from the Ukrainian democratic government. The German high command, therefore, organized a coup d'etat; dissolved parliament during its session with a regiment of soldiers; dissolved the government; imprisoned many political figures, including Symon Petliura; and had the former Czarist adjutant, General Paul Skoropadsky, proclaimed as hetman. (Hetman in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was the title of the head of the Ukrainian Cossack state, who was elected by the Cossacks.) Through this revolution and the establishment of a Ukrainian military dictatorship, the Germans hoped to obtain a better economic situation of the Ukraine.

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ne) were also united as one common state.

c. The Russian Communists, however, immediately formed a puppet government and with the aid of a Red invasion occupied Kharkov. Under this pressure from Russian Communism and attempts at Czarist restoration by Denikin on the Don and Wrangel in Crimea (which were powerfully supported by Churchill in England and Clemenceau in France), Petliura, who had been elected head of state in 1930, concluded an agreement with Poland, at whose head was the revolutionary Pilsudski, later a marshal. The Ukraine and Poland were united on one point; to set up in common a limit to the expansion of Communism to the west. The Ukrainian Democratic Republic, however, had to recognize the eastern frontier of Poland (until 1939) by the Ukrainian ethnographic territories of East Galicia, Volhynia and Podlesia went to Poland, in violation of the so-called Curzon line established by England. This treaty with Poland was signed for the Ukraine by Andrey Levitsky, now president of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic and at that time Ukrainian ambassador in Poland.

d. After this, Denikin and Wrangel were hunted out of the Ukraine and the joint Polish-Ukrainian war against the Moscow Communists led to the conquest of Kiev. Since Czechoslovakia, however, from the Poles from the rear, occupied the Teschen area, and hindered communications transports in their territory, war of varying success followed, in which the Ukrainians were finally beaten at the end of 1919 with the cooperation of the Ukrainian armies. England and France now pressed Poland for peace negotiations with Moscow, and during these negotiations in Riga, the Ukrainian Democratic Republic was betrayed by Poland, which concluded a peace with the Ukrainian government imposed by Moscow.

The government in exile between wars. Although the whole of Ukraine was flamed with popular uprisings up until 1924 and 1925, the government of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic ended with the flight to western Europe of the president of the state, the army, the democratic party leaders, and many writers, priests, and artists, in loss of confidence in the League of Nations). The centers of emigration were Poland (Camp Kalish), Czechoslovakia, the Balkan countries, Germany, and France. In particular, President Masaryk encouraged the Ukrainian emigration; he founded for them the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Prague (at present located in Munich, Johannisplatz) and the Ukrainian High School in Podohrad (at present in the DP camp at Pilsen), the Drahomanow Teachers Seminary in Prague, and a gymnasium in Vienna. The emigration in Berlin founded a Ukrainian Scientific Institute (later nationalized), under the direction of Dr. Ivan M. Petrovich, a university professor who had both Ukrainian and German citizenship. He gave the emigration the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Berlin, headed by Professor Roman Smal-Stocki, which continued until 1938 and published 68 volumes of scientific works. So, in spite of the Soviet occupation of the Ukraine, Ukrainian spiritual life flourished in western Europe.

a. The political center of the emigration was Paris, where the head of the Ukrainian state, Petliura, had emigrated. He was

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b. Under the leadership of the foreign minister, Professor Sher Shulgin, and Professor Roman Smal-Stocki, the government conducted an extensive political-diplomatic activity towards the League of Nations at Geneva, to which in 1920 the Ukrainian government had requested admission. The League of Nations was annoyed by notes and memoranda from the government of all oppressed peoples of Ukrainian peoples. Moreover, at all international congresses, the government promoted a lively activity and until the outbreak of war in 1939, it was recognized by the European states as the legitimate spokesman of the Ukrainian people. Particularly noteworthy were the proposal made by Senator Copeland in the United States Senate in 1932 for recognizing the government of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic and the government's note to President Roosevelt in 1937. On the other side, the diplomatic activity of the Ukrainian government developed the Prometheus movement, which worked for increased cooperation in a united front of emigres of all nationalities in Russia. (See below.)

World War II. The outbreak of the war surprised the press in Poland and several members of the government in Poland, who were confined by the Germans. The functions of the state were taken over provisionally by the prime minister, V. Prokopovych (died 1942). He formed a new government with Professor Al. Hruschak at its head and declared war on both dictatorial powers, Germany and USSR. (Cf. Revue de Promethee, Paris, January 1940.) Professor Shulgin fled from Paris to the hands of the Gestapo and was in jail seven months.

a. The leaders of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic confined in London and Prague succeeded gradually in building to life a party, directed against both the Germans and the Russian Communists. Officer Borovets (Taras Bulba) was the creator of UPA (Ukrainian National Army -- see below). On the other side, Professor Smal-Stocki, confined in Prague by the Gestapo, through the instrumentality of his contacts with London, formed around himself a Ukrainian intelligence center, which worked with the secret Polish Committee in London. City professor Marian Szyjkowski.

b. All organizations of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic were suppressed by the Nazis during the war, except the organizations of OUN-Bandera and the Skoropadsky group, which continued to publish their newspapers. Also, after the taking of the Germans, none of the political leaders of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic could work in the Ukraine. Before the capitulation of Germany at the end of 1944, Berlin wished to change its policy towards the nationalist efforts of the Ukraine and tried to found a Ukrainian National Committee--in order to gain cannon fodder for the final struggle. President Levitsky was taken to Berlin for execution on 7 August 1944, and there the Germans also brought Bandera, Skoropadsky, Mazepa and Kubiyovich. Smal-Stocki, at that time vice prime minister, replied with his resignation to

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zations but against the protests of Skoropadsky. General [redacted] [redacted] the matter immediately with Professor Smal-Stocki and [redacted] command of the Ukrainian division with the idea that [redacted] on's allegiance should be sworn to lead it over to the West. Even before the capitulation of Germany, Shandruk arrested German liaison officers and surrendered the division to the American Third Army south of Graz. (It is at present located in [redacted], Italy.)

After the war. The end of the war found President Levitsky with a number of Ukrainian politicians, evacuated to Weimar by the Germans. Andrey Yakovliv, the premier at that time, was with other members of the government, including Smal-Stocki (deposed), Maxim Slavinsky, and Maxim Kabachkiv. All fled, first to the American Zone, then to Germany, for the Bolsheviks to make arrests on the second day after their entry into Poland. Maxim Slavinsky and a leading Social Democrat, Valentin Sadovych, were imprisoned by the NKVD and disappeared. The leading book publisher close to the Ukrainian government, Eugene Vyrovny, committed suicide upon his arrest by the NKVD. Twice NKVD officers appeared at Professor Smal-Stocki's residence. The former (1920) Social Democrat, Ossyp Bezpalko, was also arrested and wrote a month later to Stalin in Turkistan with a request for warm clothing. The women's leader Matiushenko (widow of a Ukrainian minister) and Zinaida (leading personality of the women's movement) were also arrested but were later released.

a. Before the occupation of Weimar by the Bolsheviks; President Levitsky moved to Bad Nauheim and from there to the first DP camp near Frankfurt, which Professor Smal-Stocki and other Ukrainian political personnel also entered in September 1945. In Weimar, the government was reestablished and constituted in the following manner:

- Prime Minister: Andrey Yakovliv, university professor, now in Belgium
- Vice Prime Minister and Minister of Justice: Dr. Konstantin Pankivsky, Solicitor, formerly vice president of the Ukrainian Welfare Committee in Lwow, of which Professor Kubyovych was the head; Amzon
- Foreign Minister: Alexander Shulgin, university professor, Paris
- Minister of War: General Alexander Udovichenko, Paris
- Chief of the General Staff: General Paul Shandruk, Paris
- Minister of Culture: Professor Roman Smal-Stocki, Paris
- Minister of Health: Dr. Dymish Olesiuk, MD, Amzon
- Minister of Interior: Professor Michael Vetukhov, Paris
- State Control: Professor Maxim Kabachkiv

b. In November 1946, a group opposed to Pankivsky was organized under the leadership of Professor Roman Smal-Stocki, with the following program:

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political parties.

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- 4) Creation of a parliament in exile or state council for the control and advice of the government.
- 5) Subordination of army affairs to the Minister of War and the government and not - as up to now - to the State President.
- 6) Removal of all gamblers and card players from the state apparatus, since they endanger political activity.
- 7) Constitutional restriction of the State President's activity and his removal from the jurisdiction of the premier.

c. The negotiations for the formation of a representative coalition drawn out for months, until the removal from the Offenbach DP camp to Mainz-Kastel. When the negotiations with the parties, especially with the organization (UHVR), produced no results because they were so ineptly conducted and it became clear that the president wished to manage state affairs unilaterally rather than democratically, Smal-Stocki and Shandruk decided to resign for reasons of health, had already resigned.

d. After the conclusion of the Paris Conference, Shulgin, who had been in Mainz-Kastel, received the UHVR to the conference. This joint step as a demonstration of front against Molotov, Manuilsky, and the USSR was sharply criticized on the basis of internal politics, and resulted in Shulgin's resignation, arose a serious crisis, which today has penetrated to all Ukrainians among the emigration and whose end is still not visible. If Minister Shulgin had in Frankfurt several weeks instead of five days and had made a longer stay, he would have succeeded in establishing a moral-political authority. Shulgin criticized the Bandera group as a democratic standpoint; however, he considered their inclusion in the government imperative, since they control a large part of the youth. The group collaborated with the Germans until the occupation of the Ukraine, disappointed by Hitler, they took up arms against the Germans and demanded amnesty from the Ukrainian viewpoint.

The present rump government includes:

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- Prime Minister: resigned
- Vice Prime Minister: Kost Pankivsky
- Minister of Health: Tymish Olesink
- Minister of Interior: Michael Vetukhov
- State Control: Maxim Kabachkiy
- Conduct of affairs for the Ministry of War: General O...

Of these, Vetukhov and Kabachkiy share the views of the opposition.

f. Currently there are negotiations in progress between UMR and various groups and KUK (Ukrainian Contact Committee - see below) for the formation of a government.

... as a contract officer with the rank of the Polish General Staff Academy with a very good record, fought with the leader of an operative group, and was wounded and taken prisoner by the Germans, first released, then rearrested and held for months in solitary confinement in prison in Warsaw, then interned at Skieradowice. Then at the end of 1943 he was accepted by the Ukrainian groups (with the exception of the monarchist Skobyl) as commanding general of the Ukrainian Division formed in the previous year. He accepted this position at the command of President Levitsky with the following instructions:

- 1) To draw out the training of troops and officers, as commanding general, as long as possible and eventually to contribute practically nothing to German efforts because of the expected collapse of Germany.
- 2) To prevent the Ukrainian formations from being sent to the West (as was unfortunately the case with the Grusin Division) but to keep them only on the eastern front against the Bolsheviks.
- 3) To bring the Vlasov action to ruin.
- 4) To take the Division over to the Western Allies at the first opportunity (this was actually carried out, in agreement with Professor Smal-Stocki).

h. As a result of this successful retreat and surrender of the Division to the 3rd US Army, General Shandruk saved almost 18 thousand young Ukrainians. He has a special place in the hearts of all Ukrainian parents. He led his men through the Ukrainian Quartermaster. As a frontline general, he is very popular among the Bandera adherents, and the democratic elements. Every soldier of the Division has a special affection for him in passing through Munich, and that gives General Shandruk a large reputation on eastern Europe and the USSR, which, as a General Staff officer, he knows how to utilize. But his information studies are not systematically carried out since he depends only on the voluntary cooperation of his patriotically minded soldiers.

**Summary:** Since it includes the majority of the politically, diplomatically and militarily experienced Ukrainian leaders, the Ukrainian Democratic Republic is entirely differentiated from OUN in political tactics. It rejects the idea of slaughtering every terrorist adventure and planless revolutionary outbreaks, and is fully condemned as national suicide. The permanent revolution advocated by the OUN is replaced by the idea of a systematic, previously prepared revolution of the people oppressed by Moscow, after being assured of the help and concurrence of Western Democracies. Until some future time, this struggle must be carried out through energetic diplomatic-political action with UNO and in the world.

Ideologically the UNR government represents a legal democratic republic, which was founded by the Socialist parties.

Among the masses of the people in the Soviet Ukraine, it is the only popular form of government and is connected with the name of the national hero, Petliura.

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